

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

GEORGE HIBBERT, ESQ., AND THE REV. T. COOPER,

RELATIVE TO THE CONDITION

OF

THE NEGRO SLAVES IN JAMAICA,

EXTRACTED FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE:

ALSO,

A LIBEL

ON THE CHARACTER OF MR. AND MRS. COOPER,

PUBLISHED, IN 1823, IN SEVERAL OF THE

JAMAICA JOURNALS;

WITH NOTES AND REMARKS.

BY THOMAS COOPER. .

"Truth will ultimately prevail, even though he who uttered it should be destroyed."—Dr. V. KNOX.

London :

SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY, AND
LUPTON RELFE, 13, CORNHILL,

1824.

Price Two Shillings.

PREFACE.

My only motives in presenting the public with a connected view of the Correspondence which has recently taken place, in the *Morning Chronicle*, between Mr. George Hibbert and myself, relative to the Report I have given of what I saw of the Slaves and Slave System during a residence of more than three years in Jamaica, are, that they may have an opportunity of judging, without any very great expense either of time or trouble, on which side the truth lies. Mr. H.'s main object appears to have been, to shake, and, if possible, destroy the credit of my testimony as to the cruel, immoral, and irreligious nature and tendency of that state of oppression under which the children of Africa have, for so many ages, been doomed to suffer in our West-India colonies.

That my opponent should wish the public to believe that Negro Slavery is perfectly consistent with justice, humanity, Christianity, and sound policy, is, when all things are considered, not surprising. I believe he never saw the thing for himself; and, as he regarded the abolition of the Slave-trade as an impolitic and unnecessary measure, he cannot be expected to view an attack on Slavery itself with a friendly eye. That he should sift my statements, or those of a similar nature from any other individual, to the bottom, was nothing more than I would, had I been requested, have assisted him to do. Truth, notwithstanding his representations to the contrary, is alone my object; and where I am wrong, I most sincerely desire to be corrected. I repeat, I have no interests to serve but those of justice and humanity; and

while I plead for the rights of the Slaves, I can have no motive for slighting those of the Masters. I contend for the gradual emancipation of the former, and am willing to pay my quota of a tax for meeting the fair demands of the latter. The crime of Slavery is, in a great degree, a national crime, though the Planters seem determined, by a strange and desperate line of conduct, to plunge themselves, more deeply than any other class of the community, into this abyss of sin and suffering. Admitting that it is wrong for them to lose their money, it surely is equally, if not more so, for whole generations of Negroes to be deprived of their liberties, and of every thing which belongs to them as human beings and British subjects.

Part of the present publication will be found to consist of a most scandalous Document, published last year in several of the Jamaica newspapers; but in the production of which, I have no idea that Mr. Hibbert had the least share: and I may here explain, that I have had it stitched up with our Correspondence merely for the sake of convenience. What I have further to say on this atrocious attempt to destroy not only *my* character but that also of *Mrs. Cooper*, will be found in the concluding address to the reader at the end of the pamphlet.

T. C.

London, April 14, 1824.

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c.

To JOHN BULL.

SIR,

THE letter which you will find at foot, addressed to the Rev. Thomas Cooper, appeared in the *Times* newspaper of the 3d inst. and has been copied into other daily prints. Considering the great importance which has been attributed to the statements of Mr. Cooper, respecting the treatment of the slaves in Jamaica, the questions of "An Enquirer" merit surely a reply, which I do not find they have as yet received from any quarter. The Rev. Gentleman should at least inform us, whether he avows and confirms *all* that the author of "*Negro Slavery*" has (declaredly under his authority) given to the public in pages 46 to 71 of that pamphlet.

An attentive comparison of Mr. Cooper's letters in the "*Monthly Repository*" with the portion of that pamphlet I have referred to, will afford ground for suspicion that the pictures he drew have occasionally been coloured by the pamphleteer. Mr. Cooper has not, perhaps, been aware, that while his object was simply to impute the "*total failure*" of his mission (he knows that I use his own words) to causes which it was not in his power to controul, the party with whom he now appears to be connected, have views far more extensive. *Their* compassionate regard for the slaves in the West Indies, *their* zeal for the religious

instruction and early emancipation of the Negroes, are stimulated, while their fears for the total destruction of our colonies are tranquillized by the consolatory reflection, that there are other dependencies of the empire, and *other* commercial speculations, which may chance to prosper in exact proportion with that decline or ruin of our colonies which may result from their philanthropic experiments. They have learned *so* to think on things *eternal* as finally to forget not the things *temporal*; and the wide range of *their* contemplations may perhaps have been veiled to Mr. Cooper, although, if he has perused the notes to the report of the debate on Mr. Buxton's motion, or cast his eyes upon the ingenious geographical illustrations lately circulated from Liverpool, he will not doubt concerning this confusion of things profane and sacred; but if, on carefully perusing what they have made him say, he found one uncharitable, and at the same time unfounded, insinuation against the characters of those among whom he had been hospitably treated, it was his duty long ago to have expressed his dissent from, and to have recorded his protest against, the misrepresentation.

Late in the day, as it would be now to do so, he may yet think that proceeding preferable to a deliberate sanction, after this appeal, of *all* which the pamphleteer has put into his mouth; but if he should continue silent upon the point, I must consider his silence to indicate *such deliberate sanction*.

I wish Mr. Cooper to understand that I have no intention to assail him on the score of his religious opinions, be they what they may; nor, as to the inquiries before us, is it of any import whether his late employer was acquainted with those opinions, singular as they may be. It is not betwixt Mr. Hibbert and Mr. Cooper that there is now any question, but betwixt Mr. Cooper and the island of Jamaica.

He (or some one in his name) has assigned causes for the “total failure” of his mission, which are injurious to the reputation of the White inhabitants of that island—*they* may be able to shew *other* sufficient causes for that *failure*, and to prove the existence of those causes.

AN ENQUIRER.

TO THE REVEREND THOMAS COOPER.

REV. SIR,

Your letters in the “*Monthly Repository*,” and the Report which it is presumed you have authorised to be made by the author of the pamphlet entitled “*Negro Slavery*,” of your observations and experience in Jamaica, have excited much attention. Your statements are applauded by the pamphleteer above-mentioned, in terms which must satisfy your self-estimation; they are, he tells us, “admirably dispassionate, display no feelings of irritation towards the planters, but, on the contrary, manifest a candour which does you honour,” &c.

And it is very true, Reverend Sir, that you have conveyed your reprobation of Jamaica slave-government in terms of plausibility, and with much semblance of candour. But let us for a moment consider your situation: you had been patronised by Mr. Hibbert under circumstances which made it convenient to you to do so; and you have been (as on good authority I understand) treated with uniform kindness and liberality by that gentleman: you could not, therefore, in common decency, withhold the fact that he had ordered an estate, reported to him to be competent to produce an average crop of 400 hogsheads of sugar, to return him only 300 hogsheads; and it might escape you to com-

ment on this single fact, as proving beyond all question (if your own mission did not prove it) that gentleman's efficient care of his Negroes; for what could secure to them a more certain and instantaneous relief from the hardships which are imputed to a state of Negro slavery, than a voluntary sacrifice of one-fourth part of the produce required from their labour? I cannot, therefore, allow you *all* the credit which you get from the pamphleteer for your candour, knowing, as I do, that you could have reported many other instances of Mr. Hibbert's regard for his Negroes, besides that important one which you have considered it right to mention.

You must now allow me to ask you a few questions; and should you reply to them "dispassionately and candidly," the public will be able to form a better estimate than it can now do of the truth of the picture you have drawn of the general state of the slaves in the island of Jamaica.

Did you ever report to Mr. Hibbert those instances of atrocity which you now tell us you observed upon his estate?

I anticipate your answer—"No," you will say, "and for this plain reason—Mr. Hibbert told me, on my departure for his estate, that in order to render my own situation there more comfortable, by preventing my becoming an object of jealousy to the White managers, &c., he would be contented that I should not correspond directly with him, but with Mr. W. Frend, of Bridge Street, Blackfriars, who was on terms of intimacy with us both, and had, indeed, recommended me to Mr. Hibbert for the purpose of my mission; 'any thing in your letters which may be of sufficient importance, Mr. Frend' (said Mr. Hibbert) 'will communicate to me.'"

Well, then, my first question is answered; but did you report those atrocities to Mr. W. Frend?

This you must answer for me.—I do not anticipate your reply; but I can tell you, that although Mr. Hibbert believes that you have misrepresented and exaggerated much, yet something did reach him, or strike his representative in the island, which caused the overseer who was on the estate during your residence, to be discharged—not through you, or through any representation of yours, but a considerable time before your observations upon the management of Mr. Hibbert's estate were known to that gentleman.

Pray tell me, however, whether, on your arrival in this country, you was invited to visit Mr. Hibbert at his seat at East Hide, and whether you then intimated to him (of whose humanity you needed no proof) the abuses which you had seen committed on this estate?

Will you say "No! I remembered what Mr. Hibbert had said about the jealousy of the White servants," &c.? Recollect, Rev. Sir, you had quitted Jamaica, to return thither no more; and tell me whether Mr. Hibbert did or did not at that time hold out to you language to this effect:—"Mr. Cooper, there is now no more need of reserve betwixt us; although you did not write to me, you may now freely communicate in conversation. Have you any thing interesting to say to me respecting the conduct of my estate, and the comforts and instructions of my Negroes?" And was it not your reply, "That you had nothing of that import to communicate"?

You are reported by the pamphleteer "not to recollect having seen a single White man in Jamaica, who shewed any serious concern about religion, excepting some Missionaries." (*Negro Slavery*, p. 53.) Does the pamphleteer, in this instance, misrepresent you? If so, in how many other instances has he done the same? The assertion is a very strong one. I wish to learn whether you ever com-

municated with any ministers of the Established Church, and if not, what kept you at a distance from them? But you speak only from your recollection. Tell me, then, was you not well acquainted with Mr. Samuel Vaughan, (a White man, certainly, and no Missionary,) a planter, residing in St. James's? Was your intimacy with that gentleman so great, as to form a striking incident during your residence in Jamaica? Did you never converse with him upon religious subjects, and upon the means of enlightening the Negroes? Did you correspond with him on those subjects, and would you choose that the public should learn the particulars of that correspondence? This, indeed, you may say, is but a single instance of your want of recollection; but your acquaintance with White men of the higher classes, not Missionaries, was, perhaps, not extensive; and with none more familiar than with Mr. Vaughan; and can you think it right, that either you, or your friend the pamphleteer, should so lightly, and I may add so falsely, insinuate a charge of irreligion upon that society, whether large or small, with which you had lived in Jamaica?

Whether you notice these queries or not, you may possibly hear from me again; but upon the purport of your reply, (should you make one,) will depend what I shall have further to address to you.*

AN ENQUIRER.

* Immediately on being acquainted with the appearance of the above letter, I sent a reply to the *Times*, in which the *Queries*, &c., were first published, stating my willingness to comply with the *Inquirer's* wishes, on condition that he would give his name. I take it for granted that the Editor of that paper received my note, though he had not the fairness to give it a place in his columns. This being the case, I applied to the *Chronicle*, and in a few days my note appeared; when Mr. H. J. avowed himself to be the Inquirer; and hence the following correspondence.

To GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq.

SIR,

I see, by *The Times* of the 7th instant, that you are the individual who has recently addressed me, in several of the public prints, under the signature of "*An Enquirer*," respecting the part I have felt it my duty to act towards the Negro and other slaves in Jamaica, since my return from that island in 1821.

1. You tell me, "I had been patronised by Mr. Hibbert under circumstances which made it convenient to me to be so." Do you mean by this, that Mr. H. conferred a favour on me by sending me and my wife out to his estate in Jamaica? If so, we differ in opinion. The humanity, benevolence, and purity of his intentions, no one can venerate more highly than I do; and, with his accustomed liberality, he spared no expense which seemed necessary to render my undertaking successful. The whole must have cost him a heavy sum; yet my gains were so small, that I cannot but feel surprised that you should have thought it worth your while to advertise them in a newspaper. I once more thank Mr. Hibbert for all his kindness; and if you deem it important that the world should know which was the obliged party, it might be well to call for a public statement of accounts.

2. You think me ungenerous in not making public *all* the instances "of Mr. Hibbert's regard for his Negroes" which came within my knowledge. It was deemed sufficient to give Mr. H., as I have ever done both publicly and privately, the fullest credit for humanity and generosity; but, as you seem to wish it, I have much pleasure in recording the following particulars:—The crop on Georgia was not only reduced from 400 to 300 hogsheads, but the slaves on this estate were often eased in their labour by the assistance of

a jobbing gang. The cane-holes were all dug by jobbers, and I have sometimes known hired labourers called in to assist in trashing the canes and cleaning the pastures. The Negroes were, I believe, always allowed more common clothing than the law prescribes ; in addition to which, they not unfrequently received from their master presents of clothes of a bettermost kind. Yet all this did not, as far as I could perceive, in any way alter the inherent malignity of the system under which they were, unhappily, doomed to live.

3. You lay particular emphasis on the word "*atrocity*," and ask, whether I reported to Mr. William Frend "*those atrocities*" to which you refer.

Now, here I must remark, in the first place, that, appalling as some of the facts brought forward in "*Negro Slavery*" undoubtedly are, they have never been considered by me in any other light than as the natural offspring of the slave system. They are not, as you seem to imagine, *remarkably atrocious*, but, on the contrary, nothing more than what the system usually does, and, if not altered, must always produce. I have never charged any one with whipping the Negroes out of mere tyranny ; while every one who has resided for any length of time on a sugar estate in that part of the island to which my evidence refers, must know, that the crop is, in point of fact, got out of the whip. I know no estate where this is not the case ; and I do know that I have often heard old standards in Jamaica affirm, that they never knew a Negro who would work without the whip. Mr. Hibbert has, no doubt, always endeavoured to render slavery as little oppressive on his estate as possible ; yet the very essence of the evil remains, even after he has employed a jobbing gang, and sent out an extra quantity of supplies. The best of men may do their best, and yet labour in vain, if they refuse to strike at the root of the evil. I have never said that slavery appears on Georgia with peculiar wicked-

ness and ferocity ; while I am not sure that it does appear less so there than on estates in general. This estate, after all that can be said, is afflicted with the common curse of the West Indies. To shew the influence of slavery on other estates, as well as on Georgia, I shall be excused for introducing the following case, which happened on a neighbouring estate, and to which I was in part an eye-witness :—The White mason, who was doing a job near the overseer's house, immediately on going to his gang after dinner, gave to one of his Black workmen (John Campbell, I believe, was his name) a flogging. The sound of the whip was very distinctly heard in the house where I was sitting with a small company of White men, without producing any particular impression on the minds of those persons. A few minutes after, I went out with the overseer to the scene of this flogging. My companion interfered with the work, and thereby offended the mason,—but merely remarked to the poor man whose person was exposed to full view, lacerated and bleeding, “ John Campbell, I can give you another sore—to-morrow.” The poor fellow answered, “ Yes, *Massa, me know dat.*”

4. You are quite right, Sir, in supposing that I was to correspond with Mr. Frend on the general purposes of my mission, but totally wrong in insinuating that I was expected to transmit to that gentleman any accounts of “ the atrocities” of the slave system. Our letters would shew this, not to mention the extreme unlikelihood of the parties acting on a system of *espionage*.

5. You tell me, that Mr. Hibbert believes that I have misrepresented and exaggerated much. Be so good, Sir, as to point out the particular instances of my guilt. The overseer, who was sent off the estate during my residence upon it, certainly was not discharged through any representations of mine. It was no part of my duty, but contrary to my duty

and to my instructions, to watch and report the conduct of this individual to his employer.

6. On my arrival in this country, I did visit Mr. Hibbert, at his seat at East Hyde, and there manifested every disposition to converse upon the nature of the slave system; but it was most evident to me that Mr. H. had no wish to indulge in such conversation. He knew, indeed, what were my opinions of slavery, as such, before I paid him this visit: he knew that I regarded it as a most fertile source of oppression and immorality. Just before I left East Hyde, he certainly did hold out to me language to this effect, with an exception which I shall soon notice:—“‘ Mr. Cooper, there is now no more need of reserve betwixt us; although you did not write to me, you may now freely communicate in conversation. Have you any thing interesting to say to me respecting the conduct of my estate, and the comforts and instruction of my Negroes?’ And was it not your reply, ‘ That you had nothing of that import to communicate?’” I have quoted the whole of your questions, and shall, first of all, correct the error which it contains. You suppose that I did not write to Mr. Hibbert at all, whereas we exchanged several letters before I left his estate; in the course of which I expressed, in the most unreserved manner, the light in which I then held, and still hold, Negro slavery. Now, the result of this correspondence was, my return to England. Not that I had any complaint against Mr. H., or any one else, but because I could not look forward to the effectual propagation of Christianity among the Negroes, without endangering the existing order of things—an alternative for which Mr. H. was not prepared. I even specified some particular vices, which I could not but regard as inseparable from the slave system, as it now exists; and expressed my belief, that gross ignorance is the grand prop on which it rests. With respect to there being any thing interesting in

the conduct of Mr. H.'s estate, my answer was, "No;" and that is still my answer. I do not recollect the exact words which were employed at the time the question was put; but the meaning was, whether I had observed any thing peculiar in the management of his slaves. I knew of nothing peculiar, and therefore had nothing to say, otherwise than that slavery appeared on Georgia to be the same thing that it is on other estates. Even at this time, Mr. H. expressed a wish not to hear any thing as to the general condition of the slaves, that being well known to him. I, however, did offer to get the whip of his head driver, which was then in my portmanteau, but he declined seeing it. I then offered to give it to him, but he refused to accept of it.

7. As to the religious character of the White inhabitants, my statements are general; and if you are determined to insist on the examination of individuals, there is no alternative but to proceed. In the mean time, allow me to advise you to re-peruse Chap. 11 of Stewart's "*View of Jamaica*." I have no objection to your publishing the correspondence which took place between Mr. S. Vaughan and myself.

8. In conclusion, I repeat what I have in effect so often declared, viz. that Georgia has not been singled out as an estate on which the slave system appears with peculiar atrocity; and that the facts brought forward in my evidence are regarded "as a fair specimen of what might be found on estates in general."

THOMAS COOPER.

Newcastle, Jan. 14, 1824.

P. S. I omitted to state, that, on my return to this country, I gave Mr. Frend a full account of what I saw of the evils of the slave system. I shewed him the whip, and described the manner in which punishments are administered, and brought forward some, if not all the cases mentioned in "*Negro Slavery*."

T. C.

TO THE REVEREND THOMAS COOPER.

In *The Morning Chronicle* of the 19th instant, I see your reply to some queries which were put to you by me in *The Times* newspaper of the 3d December, and, in the interval, I instantaneously accepted your challenge to come forward with my real name and address.

I meant no offence to you when I stated, "that you had been patronised by Mr. Hibbert under circumstances which made it convenient to you to be so." I have understood that the terms upon which your assistance was engaged, were considered by you and by your friends to be liberal, and that they gave facility to some domestic arrangements. Your acknowledgments of the uniform kindness and attention which you experienced from your employer, are sufficiently explicit; and I would only hence infer, that he was entitled to your unreserved confidence, and to the earliest possible communication of every circumstance within your knowledge, which was at variance with his humane purposes, or could affect his interests.

Do not suppose that I had any intention of drawing from you, for his sake, a tribute of commendation; but I could have wished that, from your Report, it had appeared in how many instances the master of slaves, far from indulging that indolent disregard of their well-being which has often been imputed to the planters, *en masse*, is anxiously and continually studying to promote their comfort and civilization. The expense of your mission, and the orders which you now tell us were given by my relative for the conduct of his estate, are cases in point; and you would find, upon impartial inquiry, that many planters resident in Great Britain, are as humanely provident as Mr. Hibbert, who, far from

coveting distinction in this respect, is anxious not to be supposed to claim merit for sacrifices which he has not actually made. He was contented to receive 300 hogsheads of sugar from an estate which was said to be capable of producing 400; but he assures me that he was, and is well convinced, that the last-mentioned quantity could not be obtained, excepting by means quite as unwise as oppressive, and such as no considerate planter would resort to.

You resided upon Georgia upwards of three years, for the purpose of cultivating among the slaves sentiments of morality and religion; and, upon your return to this country, you pronounced that your mission had turned out "a total failure."

It might fail by the fault of others, or through circumstances which you could not controul.

It might possibly fail (perhaps you will admit) through the nature of the means used by you, or the degree of skill and diligence with which they were applied; and, of course, it might fail by a joint operation of these causes.

Could I have believed that the Reports you have published and sanctioned concerning this mission, had been conceived and written with a fair and candid spirit, you would not have been in any shape addressed by me. With your religious opinions I have nothing to do, excepting so far as a reference to them may serve to correct that conclusion which you mean to impress upon your readers, that in no one instance has your want of success been owing to any deficiency or fault of yours, but entirely to that state of society in the colony, or to those regulations on Georgia estate which opposed, as you allege, insuperable obstacles to your progress. It is not to be wondered at, that after an undertaking, which cost to my relative, as you say, "a heavy sum," and of which, after more than three years' perseverance, the result was so discouraging, you should en-

deavour to shift all responsibility for the failure off your own shoulders ; but an impartial reader may suspect that while this end was in your view, you may have exaggerated the difficulties with which you had to contend, and somewhat overcharged the causes to which you are pleased to impute your ill success.

In a letter of yours, to which I shall presently allude, you confidently assume that the "failure of your undertaking must not be imputed to your peculiar views of gospel truth ;" yet, in the same letter, you acknowledge that "the plans for converting the slaves peculiar to some other Missionaries, are regarded by you as being well calculated to bring about the much-desired and necessary reformation." Now, the history of your mission should, in candour, have included some explanation of "your peculiar views of gospel truth," and of the degree in which they differ from those of other Missionaries who have been more successful gleaners than yourself in the same field of enterprise.

I might refer you to your own correspondence with Euelpis in the *Monthly Repository*, and to various reports from the Missionary Societies, which sufficiently prove the reasonableness of a fuller explanation from you on this subject.

You have repeatedly and strongly expressed your opinion, that the slaves in our Colonies are not fitted for emancipation ; and that rashly and hastily to hazard that step, without much previous instruction and preparation, would be inconsistent both with policy and humanity ; and quite as decidedly you pronounce that, while slaves, they cannot be governed without corporal punishment, and that the degree of instruction which you conceive to be necessary as a preparation for freedom, would excite them to revolt. You cannot but admit, then, that it becomes a matter of great difficulty so to graduate their instruction in their state of slavery, as to prepare them for emancipation without dan-

ger of exciting them to insurrection ; and one would imagine that, in such a dilemma, your philanthropy would have been contented with a very slow, if sure, progress in instruction.

Mr. Hibbert has always contended, (as Euelpis seems also to maintain,) that without teaching them even to read, some useful and moral and religious impressions may be made upon the minds of Negro slaves ; and, anxious as you shew yourself to prove that you had not time for this task, it yet appears, from your own account, that for making some progress in it, opportunities were not wanting ; and you cannot but know, that when Negroes are sick, or, as it often happens, are permitted, from very slight causes, to rest in the hospital, there are, at all such times, very favourable moments for cultivating among a portion of them moral and religious sentiments.

Mr. Hibbert acknowledges that upon inquiry, he finds that his water-mill was occasionally put about upon a Sunday evening, and when he heard of the practice, he immediately ordered it to be discontinued.

Although he is of opinion, that you sometimes confound the just punishment of crime with cruelty, insinuating that both are the evil results of slavery, yet he will not admit that some of the cases you have related, are not (if faithfully represented) cases of atrocity, such as if reported to him, would have met his indignant reprobation, and have roused his attention to prevent their repetition ; but he believes that in the Report you have published, you have occasionally exaggerated, and mentions, as instances, what you state as to the absolute dominion of an overseer over the slaves, the small value attached to good character and moral qualities in a slave, the hardships of labour, and almost total want of rest in crop time ; the little attention paid to pregnant females ; and the frequent occurrence of the removal of slaves from one part of the island to another at a great distance.

in these respects it would be an easy matter to prove that the picture you have drawn is not faithful, but the discussion would too much lengthen this letter.

It was not candid in you to omit, in your early report, to state the fact that the overseer, who was on Georgia during two years and a half of your residence there, and who was esteemed to be a most skilful planter, was discharged six months before you quitted the estate, and not in consequence of any representation made by you; and you might have told us whether the general appearance of the slaves was or was not, in your opinion, bettered by the change; and this I the rather press, as Mr. Oates, the attorney of Mr. Hibbert, in whose scrupulous veracity I have the highest confidence, affirms that, before you quitted the estate, you several times declared, in his hearing, "that the Negroes were a very happy peasantry, indeed much better off than many of the labouring classes in England, and that their houses were, on many estates, far more comfortable than the cottages at home."

It is the aim of your Report to represent, that what you saw at Georgia presents a flattering picture of the general condition of the Negroes in Jamaica—"that this estate was one as likely as any other to have been selected in order to convey the most favourable representation of Negro bondage," &c. &c. &c. Now this, with your knowledge of the overseer's dismissal, is not fair; nor can we learn from your Report, that your personal examination of different estates in various parts of so large an island as Jamaica, warrants you in any such conclusion. Your excuses for not communicating to Mr. Hibbert, by means of Mr. Frend, whatever you observed amiss in the treatment of his Negroes, are very unsatisfactory. You was desired to correspond with Mr. Frend for the very purpose of yoer escaping the imputation of *espionage* (I use your own term): and, under the

difficulties of applying a cure to all the evils which you state as belonging to slavery, what better could a preacher of the gospel and a friend of humanity do, than to become instrumental in promoting the immediate comfort of the slaves, and in averting from them all unnecessary hardships, instilling, in the mean time, into their minds, on every opportunity which could be seized, safe and valuable instruction ?

But concerning the treatment of the slaves, you were totally silent until your return to England ; and even then, instead of communicating to Mr. Hibbert what especially related to his estate, you offered general remarks upon the evils of the system—evils which, by your own admission, can only be safely corrected with the utmost caution, and by very slow degrees.

I have had access to the contents of two letters from you, addressed to Mr. Samuel Vaughan, dated the 11th November, 1820, and 20th March, 1821. Mr. Vaughan is well known as an eminent planter, and as a humane man, anxious, as many other planters are, to impress upon the slaves useful, moral, and religious instruction. Mr. Oates introduced you to Mr. Vaughan purposely, that you might confer with him upon the best means of accomplishing the object of your mission. These letters I will publish, if you desire it. They are, in my opinion, very creditable to your motives and to your zeal. They are referred to by me, because, to my conviction, they establish two facts :—

1st. That the assertion which you have sanctioned, that “you do not recollect to have seen a single White man in Jamaica who shewed any serious concern about religion, excepting some Missionaries,” (if your memory deserve any confidence whatever,) cannot be correctly true.

2d. That “your peculiar views of gospel truth,” whatever be their foundation in gospel and in truth, are, unfortunately, ill adapted to your purpose of converting to Chris-

tainty such a description of demoralized persons as, by your Report, are the Negroes on Georgia.

I should infer from the first fact, that, either by hasty zeal or want of memory, you may have been incorrect in other statements not so easy of detection; and I cannot admit that the opinions of Mr. Stewart, or of any other writer on the subject, can affect the fairness of this conclusion.

The justice of my second inference, I must expect that you will not admit; and you may choose that the letters should appear in *The Times* newspaper, in order that you may explain the passages to which I refer in that case (as I mean here, on my part, to close our correspondence). I will not accompany the letters with any comment, excepting a repetition of that very brief one which I now offer, and after any explanation of yours, I will then be contented to abide by the decision of the public, whether to "your peculiar views of gospel truth," may not, in a great degree, be fairly attributed "the total failure of your mission."

GEORGE HIBBERT.

Portland Place, Jan. 23, 1824.

To GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq.

SIR,

I now proceed to notice those parts of your letter, in *The Chronicle* of the 24th instant, which seem to demand an answer:—

1. You infer, "from the uniform kindness and attention" which I experienced from your relative, that he was entitled to my "unreserved confidence." Now, Sir, are you really unacquainted with the fact, that weeks before a word of my obnoxious letters and statements appeared in print, I wrote to him, and obtained his full approbation to publish an

account of my late undertaking on his estate? He expresses in his reply, which is now before me, his concurrence in my design, and promises to procure the *Monthly Repository*, with a view to read what I might write. At length I fulfilled my promise, quite expecting, that as he professed to be one of my readers, he would not fail, if he saw any thing in my report which he thought objectionable, to point it out to me, in a friendly and candid manner. As soon as "*Negro Slavery*" came out, I, from an anxiety that he should have the earliest opportunity of examining my evidence, caused a copy to be sent him. All this was done considerably more than a year ago, and yet he never condescended to favour me, in any manner whatever, with his opinion, till your attack came forth, of the propriety of my proceedings, or the nature of my account. If he wished for my confidence exclusively, why did he assure me of his high approbation when I proposed writing for the public eye? And why has so long a time been allowed to elapse without his objections making their appearance? And why have they now been started by you in the public prints—and that too in the most invidious light? I have no interests to serve but those of justice, truth, and humanity, and it is for the public to decide whether you have convicted me of injustice and unfairness. If I have given West-India slavery a bad name, I have produced facts to justify my conduct. And I ask you whether it is not by this latter practice, and by this alone, that I have given the offence? I might, I feel persuaded, have sounded my opinions from one end of the island to another, peaceably enough, had I not published the grounds and reasons of them.

2. You may see, by my letter in *The Repository* for December 1822, that "I give the planters, as a body, the fullest credit for a desire to make the slaves as happy as they can be made in a state of complete servitude." I assail

them not for gratuitous cruelty, but for their apparent determination to eternize a system, which I must still regard as intrinsically tyrannical, cruel, and immoral. I despise the practice of condemning the planters, or even the abolitionists, "*en masse*," and should greatly rejoice to see the parties forsake personalities, and confine themselves to facts.

3. I have no recollection of stating, "on my return to this country, that my mission turned out a total failure," and should be glad to know on what authority you state that I did.

4. I utterly disclaim ever having had the least intention, in what I have written and sanctioned, of covering any conscious neglect in the discharge of the duties of my mission. I have written, not with a view to injure any one, excepting so far as some may deem it an injury to themselves to have any part of the evils of the slave system pointed out—but solely to serve the cause of an oppressed and shamefully-neglected people. I feel a satisfaction in what I have done, notwithstanding the attempts on both sides the Atlantic to hunt me down.

5. In one of your letters, addressed to *John Bull*, I observed the following passage:—"I wish Mr. Cooper to understand that I have no intention to assail him on the score of his religious opinions, *be they what they may*; nor, as to the inquiries before us, is it of any import whether his late employer was acquainted with those opinions, singular as they may be." How does this agree with the kind of reference you have made to my religious opinions in your last letter? Mr. Hibbert knew, at the time he engaged me to go out to Jamaica, that I was a *Unitarian*. He knows that he removed me from *Moretonhampstead*, in *Devonshire*, where I was the Minister of a *Unitarian Congregation*. In giving a history of my mission I can have no objection to an explanation of my creed, and had I imagined that you, or

any one else, attached the least importance to this being done, it should not have been passed over thus long. But you have a document to publish, illustrative of this point, and therefore it may be as well for me to withhold my confession until you have done so.

6. I think it would be no more than fair to prove, as well as to insinuate, that the cases of punishment, &c., brought forward in "*Negro Slavery*," are "unfaithfully represented." They are, doubtless, atrocious enough, when compared with what working people in this country experience for neglect of their work; but they have not been proved to be so when compared with the usual course of events on a sugar estate in Hanover, Jamaica. What is a mere whipping amongst Negro slaves? Cases of *atrocities* would, I apprehend, be of the following kind—a Negro who has been heavily whipped, or otherwise ill-treated by his overseer, goes to his attorney to complain, who being satisfied of the justness of the complaint, gives him a note back to the overseer, that he may be favourably received, and sent quietly to work. This offends the overseer, who takes the note, fastens it to the punishable parts of the man or woman, boy or girl, and orders the driver to whip on till the paper is destroyed. I do not mean to say that I ever witnessed a scene of this kind, or that they are of frequent occurrence; but I do mean to say, that I firmly believe they happen; and that I could quote testimony in their favour, which would satisfy you. Other facts, of an equally barbarous nature, might be adduced; and yet it is a piece of effrontery so great for an Englishman, living in England, to cry out against Negro Slavery, that he ought to lose his character for his crime. Mr. Hibbert must excuse my not retracting any thing I have said respecting the "absolute dominion of an overseer." This officer, I must still consider as a complete despot; against whose decision there is, in ninety-nine cases

out of a hundred, no effectual appeal. All that I ever meant by the “small value attached to good character and moral qualities in a slave,” is, that it cannot contribute to his advancement in society ; he can only be made a driver, i. e., placed in a situation ill-suited to a moral and generous mind. In short, the thing speaks for itself ; the condition of a slave is fixed, and you cannot, if you would, advance him in the scale of society without making him free. I do not say that the slave gets through too much work ; the circumstances under which he labours constitute the hardship : what I have advanced respecting the length of time he works in crop, was attested to me by all the White people on the estate, not to mention the Negroes themselves, and the fact, that I and my wife have often seen many of them go every other night to take their spell. Sugar is made all night as well as all day, and I have repeatedly seen the lists of the two gangs, or spells, into which the estate’s people are divided. I see no room for softening the account I have given of the lot of pregnant women, but, on the contrary, deem it fair to introduce the following extract, from the pen of a sturdy advocate for the slave system :—“That pregnancy occasions great inconveniences there is no doubt, even to persons whose happier circumstances enable them to palliate its rigours, by every means which affluence can supply ; but to a labouring slave, the evil admits of *no* indulgencies of the kind. During the first months of gestation, her stomach,” &c. &c. “Upheld by *no* consolation, animated by *no* hope, her nine months of torment, issue in the production of a being, *doomed*, like herself, to the rigours of eternal servitude, and aggravating, by its claims on maternal support, the weight of her own evils.”—See “*Practical Rules for the Management of Negro Slaves, by a Professional Planter,*” pp. 134, 135. I am not aware of any exaggeration in the account I have given of the removal of slaves from one part

of the island to another. The gang on Georgia was, I believe, made up chiefly of slaves purchased of different persons, some of whom resided at a very considerable distance from the plantation.

7. I certainly had nothing to do with the discharge of Mr. Hibbert's overseer, and if I had had, that very circumstance would now be referred to as affording a leading cause of the non-success of my mission. It would now be said, that I, who presumed to interfere with the concerns of the White people, could expect nothing but disappointment. But you think I ought, at least, to have told the world, that in spite of your relative's best endeavours, it was, owing to the misconduct of his overseer, a peculiar hardship to be a slave on his estate. But this would have been going too far; for I never heard it so represented, but firmly believe, that, all things considered, the Negroes on Georgia were quite as well off as the slaves on any estate in the neighbourhood. The dismissed overseer was a man of strong mind, well acquainted with his business, though, no doubt, a strict disciplinarian. He was employed on this estate nearly twenty years, at least fifteen of which he was overseer. During this period the estate had four or five attorneys, one of whom, a most successful planter, gave him the charge of an estate soon after Mr. Oates sent him away. I am not aware that any very mighty improvement took place after this celebrated dismissal of an old servant; the whips and the drivers, and the stocks and despotism, were left behind; slavery remained to oppress the poor Blacks, with the same disgusting tyranny.

8. It is true, I never advocated the sudden emancipation of the slaves; and I do not know that the party, with whom you suppose me now to be connected, ever did; and how is it, that you and some others are found to keep at a distance, excepting when you are clothed in armour, from

those whose sole object is to befriend the injured, and erase the foulest blot that ever stained the national character? The slaves cannot, I believe, be governed without "corporal punishment;" and, therefore, I wish slavery was at an end.

9. I never conversed with Mr. Oates, as the advocate of the slave system. He knows that I never liked it:—the sweeping language which he represents me to have employed, cannot be correct. I may have admitted, that, in individual cases, the slaves are, with respect to food and clothing and a cottage, as well off as some of the peasantry in England, but, certainly, nothing further. I could easily enlarge here, had I room.

10. If it was my duty to report to Mr. Frend what I saw of the civil condition of the slaves, I was never given to understand so, but the contrary, till I read your letters. Mr. F. wrote to me only four times during my residence in the island, and never once on the supposition that he expected any such accounts from me. More than a whole year elapsed without my receiving a word, either from him or Mr. Hibbert. In this part of your letter you do me very great injustice; you blame me for not doing what was never expected of me, not to mention the dangerous practice of my picking up cases of floggings, &c., and sending them home to Mr. F., in^g order that they might reach the ears of Mr. Hibbert, and he send out remonstrances in turn to his attorney. I remember what a Missionary said to me, who was only suspected of doing this. I never disguised from Mr. Frend what I thought of slavery, and he knows whether he had a right to expect me to act on the plan you have pointed out. Mr. Oates, moreover, did not stand in need of my services as a spy, for I have cause to know that there were persons in sufficient number ever ready to watch the conduct of the person in question, and report it to Mr.

O. Not, however, that I believe that he was, or would ever be, guided by the valuable labours of this fraternity. He is, if I have formed a correct opinion of him, a gentleman who would decide on any measures which it might be proper for him to pursue towards those under him, by facts which should come under his own eye, and not by the representations of others. He has seen too much of the planting business to need the assistance of a tale-bearer. If I had an estate he should have the management of it in preference to any one I know, until I could emancipate the gang.

You are at full liberty to send my two letters to *The Times*, or any other paper, as soon as you please, with the express understanding that Mr. Vaughan's are also to be published if I see cause to request it. I had no idea when, in your first letter, you so triumphantly mentioned this correspondence, that you had any design of publishing a part without the whole.

THOMAS COOPER.

Shelton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, Jan. 31, 1824.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

SIR,

My correspondence with the Rev. Thomas Cooper, as I have already declared to him, is closed. His answers to the queries I addressed to him are in several instances direct and fair. Facts, connected with the history of his mission to Jamaica, have thus been elicited, which are not to be gathered from his letters, nor from the pamphlet entitled "*Negro Slavery*," and concerning the importance of those facts to a correct estimate of the value of Mr. Cooper's Report, the impartial public, if they have deigned to attend to our correspondence, will decide.

I have informed Mr. Cooper, that letters written by him to Mr. Vaughan, a planter of eminence and high character, to the contents of which I have access, establish to my conviction the fairness of the two following conclusions :—

1. That the assertion which he has sanctioned, that “he does not recollect to have seen a single White man in Jamaica, who shewed any serious concern about religion, excepting some Missionaries,” cannot (if his memory deserve any confidence whatever) be strictly true.

2. That his “peculiar views of Gospel truth” are, unfortunately, ill-adapted to the purpose of converting to Christianity such a description of demoralized persons as, by his Report, are the Negroes on the estate to which his mission was directed.

The bearing of these inferences upon the confidence due to Mr. Cooper’s Report, cannot be questioned.

Can we rely upon the candour and accuracy of a statement which contains a charge so sweeping as that thus advanced against the White Inhabitants of Jamaica, (a charge neither retracted nor qualified when presented by me to his reconsideration,) if in the very limited number of Mr. Cooper’s acquaintances in Jamaica (after excluding Missionaries) were to be found men like Mr. Oates and Mr. Vaughan, whom I the rather point out, as with the latter (introduced to him for that very purpose by the former) he was in familiar intercourse and correspondence upon the object of his religious mission? Is it not reasonable to doubt, whether through hasty zeal, or defect of memory, Mr. Cooper may not in other instances, less easy of detection, have been betrayed into misrepresentation?

The other conclusion is in direct contradiction of the constant aim of Mr. Cooper in his Report, in which he would willingly make us believe, that the ill success of his mission

has been caused entirely by the insurmountable obstacles opposed to him by the Slave-system of Jamaica.

In proof of these conclusions I offer to produce my vouchers, (his own letters to Mr. Vaughan,) which, however, I am unwilling to publish without his consent, and most unaffectedly I repeat that, although these letters are, in my opinion, irresistible evidence of the justice of my inferences, they are yet highly creditable to his zeal and to his motives. Mark what is his reply in *The Chronicle* of the 6th instant—

“ You are at full liberty to send my two letters to *The Times*, or any other paper, as soon as you please, *with the express understanding that Mr. Vaughan's are also to be published, if I see cause to request it.* I had no idea, when in your first letter you so triumphantly mentioned this correspondence, that you had any design of publishing a part without the whole.”

Sir, if Mr. Vaughan's letters exist, they are in Mr. Cooper's possession; and Mr. Vaughan, who is, as Mr. Cooper well knows, in Jamaica, would probably tell us, that of his letters to Mr. Cooper he retained no copies. I undertake for Mr. Vaughan that Mr. Cooper may, whenever he pleases, publish any letters which Mr. Vaughan has written to him; they would I doubt not, confirm the inference I have drawn from his own. Again, then, I ask him, will Mr. Cooper request the publication of his own letters, that he may have an opportunity of controverting my construction of them, or is he content that my inferences shall be taken for granted?

Here I would conclude, for I will not engage in a controversy with Mr. Cooper upon the vast subject of Negro Slavery, of which there would be no end, were I required to detect and to expose the fallacy of all his new hearsay stories and stale misrepresentations; but his last letter

demands from me a few explanations, which I shall strictly confine to the points peculiar to our correspondence.

Mr. Cooper *did* communicate to my relative his design of appearing in print ; and Mr. R. Hibbert, who supposed that he was about to relate the simple history of the labours of his mission, was not a little surprised when, receiving from him the pamphlet on *Negro Slavery*, he found that Mr. Cooper had committed himself to the hands and projects of others, and sanctioned judgments upon matters out of the reach of his abilities, habits, and opportunities of observation. His writings would at no time have been publicly noticed by Mr. R. Hibbert, nor indeed by me, out of any personal consideration for my relative ; but if I, who do not recollect that I ever conversed with Mr. Cooper, saw reason to animadvert upon his charges against the inhabitants of Jamaica, I was at liberty (it will perhaps be granted) to choose my own time for so doing.

I am assured by Mr. R. Hibbert, that Mr. Cooper's conversations, at East Hide, amounted to a declaration that his mission had been "a total failure;" and, indeed, in one of his letter's to Mr. Vaughan, written only two months before his departure from Jamaica, he uses these words—"the failure of my undertaking."

Mr. Cooper will find that I have disclaimed all interference with his religious opinions, excepting so far as a reference to them might serve to correct his own report of the causes of his ill success among the Negroes. He has, by that Report, stamped an importance upon the nature of those opinions, and he must not complain if I seek to shew the influence they were calculated to have upon the result of his labours. Mr. R. Hibbert knew that he was an Unitarian, but there are certain tenets which have no connexion with Unitarian principles, and which are, as I can prove, entertained by Mr. Cooper, with which Mr. R. Hibbert was

unacquainted, and they are such as, in his opinion, rendered Mr. Cooper unfit for producing any useful effect upon the uncultivated minds of Negroes.*

GEORGE HIBBERT.

Portland Place, Feb. 12.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

SIR,

I some time since received the permission of Mr. Samuel Vaughan, of Jamaica, to publish two letters addressed to him by the Reverend Thomas Cooper, should it appear to me that they would be instrumental in exposing the fallacy of Mr. Cooper's Report concerning Jamaica. For purposes which are stated in my correspondence with Mr. Cooper, I have alluded to the contents of these letters, unaffectedly declaring, that in my opinion they do credit to the writer's motives and his zeal, while they impeach the candour and accuracy of his printed Report. They are now published in consequence of the invitation of Mr. Cooper, he being left at liberty to publish the contents of any letters in his possession from Mr. Vaughan to himself. Mr. Cooper, however, has by accident, as it should seem, so disconnected our correspondence, that I am once more compelled to state, that upon these letters I seek to establish two facts, viz.

1. That the assertion which he has sanctioned, that "He does not recollect to have seen a single White man

* Soon after the above address appeared, the Editor of the *Chronicle* inserted a note, which I sent him, stating that Mr. Vaughan's letters to me were in my possession, and that I intended to publish them as soon as Mr. Hibbert might deem it proper to print mine. T. C.

in Jamaica, who shewed any serious concern about religion, excepting some Missionaries," cannot, if his memory deserve any confidence whatever, be correctly true.

2. That his "peculiar views of Gospel truth" unfit him for the purpose of converting uncultivated Negroes to Christianity.

And these two facts being admitted, I infer that we cannot confide in the justice of his general charges against the state of society in Jamaica, to which, by his Report, ought solely to be imputed the total failure of his Mission.

"Georgia Estate, Hanover, Nov. 11, 1820.

"DEAR SIR,

"I now return the books, with the loan of which you were so obliging as to favour me. I read Mr. Holmes' Historical Sketches with peculiar pleasure. The success of the Brethren in Antigua and the Danish West-India Islands is astonishing, and their perseverance in the common cause beyond all praise. I believe you are quite aware that I differ very materially on many important points of theology from this ancient and truly respectable denomination of Christians; but I am sure all must admire the disinterested zeal which enables them to forego every worldly good, and to brave the most formidable dangers, in propagating what they regard as gospel truth amongst the most ignorant and degraded of our species. Thousands of Hottentots, and it should seem Negro slaves also, have the greatest cause to rise up and bless the Brethren's Missionaries as the distinguished instruments in the hands of a merciful Providence in redeeming them from the galling thraldom of vice. I cannot say much of my own success on Georgia; and, from my present means, I am much afraid I can never expect much. Any high degree of civilization is undoubtedly unfit for the Negroes, considered merely in the light of slaves; yet I must still be of

opinion, that, in reason, civilization ought to precede evangelization. The mental and religious improvement of the Negroes is undoubtedly a work of time ; but the first object should be to lay a good foundation, for, until we accomplish this, much substantial and ultimate good cannot be expected. I am unwilling to despair ; but I cannot be sanguine. Since I was with you, Mr. Hibbert has expressed a wish that I should prolong my stay on his estate beyond the term of three years, which was originally stipulated for my residing in the island. This being the case, I shall most probably remain at my post another year or two.

"I beg to be kindly remembered to Mr.—. The exposition of the historical writings of the New Testament by Mr. —, you will be so good as to forward to Dr. — at your convenience. I have enclosed a few Numbers of the Christian Tracts, which, as a well-wisher to the best interests of the Negroes, I am sure you would wish to see dispersed among them, were they able to read them. You were so kind as to invite me to repeat my visit to — —, and which I propose doing if all is well, in the course of the ensuing dry season ; much obliged by your past kindness,

"I remain, dear Sir, &c. &c.

"THOMAS COOPER.

"*To the Honourable S. Vaughan, &c. &c.*"

"Hanover, 20th March, 1821.

"DEAR SIR,

"I presume you have been informed that I have lately been spending a few days at Montego Bay, and that during that period I made several calls at your house, hoping to find you at home, as I felt a strong wish to see and converse with you once more on some points relative to the moral, mental, and religious improvement of the Negro Slaves, before I quit this island. I should certainly have remained

in the Bay till your return from —, had it not been for my great anxiety to hasten back to my family. [The remainder of this passage has relation merely to domestic matters.]

" As to the book you put into my hands, I really hardly feel myself competent to decide whether it be calculated, above all others, to answer the particular purpose you have in view ; at the same time, I should imagine that a brief abstract of the Common Prayer-Book itself, could not fail to suit your design. Of course, much would depend on the manner in which such a work might be executed. From this much-revered compilation, and celebrated standard of orthodoxy, there may undoubtedly be obtained the most authentic and the most accurate information respecting the doctrines and ceremonies of our National Church. I called on Mr. —, the Methodist preacher, and had some conversation with him respecting the common cause in which we are engaged. I perceived immediately that he suspected me to be sceptical with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, and many other points of popular belief ; and I therefore did not hesitate to give him a brief, but plain, statement of the main articles of my creed. He was, of course, shocked, and especially to find that I denied the existence of the Devil, and maintained the all-glorious and all-important doctrine of the final restoration of all mankind to purity and happiness. The doctrines which I have been accustomed to preach to the Negroes, are such as have always, in all ages of the Church, been believed by all Christians, and consequently the failure of my undertaking must not be imputed to my peculiar views of gospel truth. And this, indeed, Mr. — acknowledges ; and remarked, that he did not believe that, if he himself, or any other Methodist preacher, were placed on any single estate, and allowed similar advantages with those which I have enjoyed, they could succeed in making converts of the slaves. The plans they go upon are almost

peculiar to themselves, and I must own that I regard them as being well calculated to bring about the much-desired, and certainly necessary, reformation. I regret exceedingly that my circumstances were such as to forbid me to act in a similar way.*

" You have, no doubt, heard that we are on the point of leaving Jamaica : we expect to embark in about a fortnight on board the Ann, Capt. Hamilton. Had I consulted nothing more than my inclination, I should not have resigned my situation for at least another year or two. Mr. Hibbert wished me to continue on his estate as long as I felt myself useful to his Negroes ; at the same time, he was not disposed to second my efforts with that degree of assistance which I could not but regard as necessary to warrant the expectation of ultimate success. My decision was not formed in haste : I examined the subject on every side in the most impartial, deliberate manner ; and I can truly say, that I have adopted the course which I should have desired Mr. H. to adopt, had he been in my situation, and I in his. I beg to be kindly remembered to Mr. B——. I hope Dr. —— will be able to return the volume of Kenrick before I sail, as

* I have here cancelled two sentences which made part of this letter, as published by Mr. Hibbert. They have not, as far as I can see, any thing to do with the points in debate between that gentleman and myself; being nothing more than remarks, never intended for publication, respecting the Missionary labours of the Wesleyan Methodists amongst the Negroes. Some of the expressions employed are strong ; and I have no wish to give them to the world in a second edition. Much as I differ in opinion, upon religious subjects, from the followers of the great Wesley, no one can admire more highly than I do their disinterested zeal in endeavouring to bring the heathen to what they regard as a due knowledge of the Christian Revelation. In many respects they have, doubtless, been the instruments of great good amongst the ignorant and vicious ; and may the blessing of Heaven still smile on their labours !

it forms a part of a very valuable work. [Here are added a few words of compliments, &c. &c.]

“I am, dear Sir, &c. &c.,

“THOMAS COOPER.

“*The Hon. S. Vaughan, &c. &c.*”

Here, Sir, on my part, entirely ends this correspondence. Mr. Cooper, who is, I find, here upon the spot, may comment upon his own letters without any counter comment from me. He will publish, he says, some letters from Mr. Vaughan to himself. I know not with what view. The worth and respectability of Mr. Vaughan are well known; but he is in Jamaica, and months must pass over before he can, if he should ever think it necessary to, take any notice of what Mr. Cooper may wish to ground upon his letters. Meantime, I take my leave of Mr. Cooper with reminding him, that the conclusions I have sought to establish upon the letters now given to the public, are maintained by *me*, and have not been advanced by Mr. Vaughan.

GEORGE HIBBERT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

SIR,

May I beg you to give insertion in your Paper to a few remarks, which I am desirous of making, as a conclusion to my correspondence with Mr. George Hibbert? But before I proceed, I wish to explain, that, on reviewing those letters of Mr. S. Vaughan to which allusion has been made, I have been led to the conclusion, that they are not of sufficient importance to lay before the public. Should, however, Mr. Hibbert wish to see them, I shall be happy to furnish him

with the originals, that he may take copies, and employ them in any way he may think proper.

Mr. Hibbert has already, with my permission, laid the contents of two of my private letters to Mr. Vaughan, before your readers, in order, as he tells us, "to establish two facts," &c. (See pp. 29, 30.)

Whether those private letters, or any thing advanced by Mr. Hibbert, justify his inferences, the public have had an opportunity of judging. For my own part, I feel no sort of alarm, and see no ground for retracting a particle of what I have said respecting the religious character of the White gentlemen of Jamaica. But, to make his premises sure, Mr. H. has ventured on the dangerous and delicate practice of dragging individuals before the public, by name. He tells me, that I was acquainted with Mr. George Oates and Mr. S. Vaughan in Jamaica, and then endeavours to impress the public with the idea, that these gentlemen, who certainly are not Missionaries, formed so decided an exception to my general rule, as to destroy it altogether. This, however, I do not admit; and I pledge myself, if called upon, to produce satisfactory evidence of what I here assert. Mr. Hibbert must be aware, that it is one thing to countenance Missionary undertakings, and another to be personally religious. If Mr. O. and Mr. V. should be displeased with me for saying, thus publicly, that I do not regard them as persons who shew a serious regard about religion, and that I am prepared, if required, to justify this opinion by the publication of facts, they must blame Mr. Hibbert still more, who has forced me to this course on the ground of self-defence. The peculiar want of religion and morals in the West Indies, I attribute to the noxious influence of the slave system; and, if this hypothesis be correct, I would ask Mr. H. whether it does not constitute a strong reason for a change in the civil condition of the slaves?

Mr. Hibbert's reference to my religious opinions, is, in my estimation, perfectly disingenuous, and, perhaps I should be justified in adding, even cruel towards me as an individual; for if we admit, for the sake of argument, that my heresy led to what he calls "the total failure of my mission," Mr. Frend and Mr. R. Hibbert ought, in common justice, to bear a large share of the blame. They made choice of me to go out to Jamaica, knowing and approving of my sentiments at the time; and how is it that their error in employing a person whose principles are supposed to have been so utterly incapable of administering to the moral and spiritual wants of the slaves, should be allowed to pass without the slightest animadversion? Do *they* blame Unitarianism? Or do *they* deem it a reproach to this system of faith, that it should have been found incompatible with Negro slavery? I always maintained that the Negroes might, if treated as human beings and taught to read, be brought to a due acquaintance with Christianity; while I presumed to add, what I did, and do still, conscientiously believe, viz. that they would thus be unfitted for continuing in the low estate of West-India slaves; that is, they would be raised from the condition of mere animals, to that of men and Christians. These convictions I imparted to their master, who, in consequence, effected a complete change in my labours, by requesting me to desist from teaching the children to read, and thereby making it manifest that instruction was to give way to slavery, and not slavery to instruction. Hence, I resigned my situation; and not because there was any thing in my creed, much less in the constitutions of the Negroes, which blighted my prospects. Slavery, like every other unholy and tyrannical principle, dreads the light; and those who wish to secure its perpetuity, act consistently by labouring to surround it with darkness that may be felt.

But Mr. Hibbert says, "There are certain tenets which

have no connexion with Unitarian principles, and which are," as he can prove, entertained by me, "with which Mr. R. Hibbert was unacquainted, and they are such as, in his opinion, rendered" me "unfit for producing any useful effect upon the uncultivated minds of Negroes."* I wish Mr. Hibbert would be a little more explicit, and let us know what these "certain tenets" are, for I am utterly at a loss to conjecture to what he alludes. I have neither fears nor secrets in religion, and I shall deem myself unjustly treated, unless a fair opportunity is afforded me of vindicating myself against the above charge;—after making which, was it candid, was it honourable, in Mr. Hibbert, to declare to you, Mr. Editor,† before I had it in my power to reply, "*Here, Sir, on my part, entirely ends this correspondence*"? But as it might be too much, Sir, to expect you to renew the contest in your columns, I shall be contented to have the explanation I demand as a right, given in the *Monthly Repository*.

Mr. Hibbert complains, that the history of my mission does not include a view of my religious belief. This, I acknowledge, was a designed omission; for I did not see the necessity of giving a confession of faith, in connexion with what I had to say relative to the condition, whether spiritual or temporal, of the Negro slaves. But as something of the kind seems now necessary, I know not that I can do better than declare my hearty acquiescence in the following summary of doctrine, drawn up by an intelligent and learned Roman Catholic writer of the present day.

"All Christians believe," he says, "1st, that there is one God; 2nd, that he is a being of infinite perfection; 3rd, that he directs all things by his Providence; 4th, that it is our duty to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves; 5th, that it is our duty to repent of the sins we

* See pp. 28, 29.

† See p. 34.

commit ; 6th, that God pardons the truly penitent ; 7th, that there is a future state of rewards and punishments, when all mankind shall be judged according to their works ; 8th, that God sent his Son into the world to be its Saviour, the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him ; 9th, that he is the true Messiah ; 10th, that he worked miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four gospels ; 11th, that he will hereafter make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.” *

Such, then, are the points which constitute the basis of the religion which I profess, and which it was my object to teach to the Negroes. I may deny certain tenets of popular belief; but as far as I go, I appeal to Mr. Hibbert, whether I am not quite as orthodox as himself, or, indeed, as any one in Christendom. He should complain, if complaint be necessary, of my *want* of belief in certain cases, and not insinuate, that what I do admit, is, in itself, heretical and dangerous, calculated to injure rather than benefit mankind. Is the belief in the existence and providence of God, in the divine origin of the Scriptures, in the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, in the necessity of personal holiness, in the resurrection and a future judgment, &c. &c., “ ill-adapted to the purpose of converting the Negroes ? ” If so, Christianity itself should be denied to them; for it will be granted, that no man can preach Christianity without preaching these doctrines. I confined myself to them, and, on no occasion, that I am aware of, ever brought into view what might be deemed my peculiar opinions. My instructions were not to deal in controversy, but to insist on those

* Life of Fenelon, by Charles Butler, Esq., of Lincoln’s Inn, London, 1820. 12mo. Appendix. Note i. p. 235.

leading topics which all Christians in all ages have agreed to maintain. Speculations about the Trinity, the evil spirit called the Devil, election and reprobation, &c. &c., were never introduced by me to my Sable audience. My object was not to make proselytes to a party, but to lead my hearers from ignorance to knowledge, and from vice to virtue; but to do even this, effectually, was found, and, I fear, will ever be found, incompatible with that state of slavery which the planters are resolved to keep up in the West Indies.

To touch on every point in Mr. Hibbert's communications, is unnecessary; but there is one more which I cannot pass over. He talks of "the fallacy of my new hear-say stories and stale misrepresentations." Is this the language of a fair controversialist? He should prove the misrepresentations, as well as assert them; and we may safely conclude that he would, if it were in his power. I deny that I have, intentionally, misrepresented a single fact; and as to my "hear-say stories," they rest, in part, on testimony which he himself professes to respect. If they are "stale," it is because they are of a piece with what has been passing in the colonies for at least the last hundred and fifty years.

In conclusion, I must express my regret that a gentleman of Mr. Hibbert's universally-acknowledged respectability and weight in the community, should have mixed up with a controversy that involves consequences of the highest moment to nearly a million of his fellow-subjects, including the slaves and slave-holders, with personalities and contests about modes of faith. What has the failure of my mission, as he is resolv'd to have it, or my religious opinions, to do with the truth or falsehood of the particular facts which have given him and some others so much offence? In reply to what I have reported about the driving system, Sunday markets, the power of the overseer, the want of marriage

and education among the slaves, and the general prevalence of vice, &c. &c.,—he refers to the awful circumstance of my being a Unitarian! Surely *Mr. Hibbert* does not mean to insinuate that Unitarians are such desperate *heretics* that it is hazardous to keep faith with them! But, after all, that advantages should have been taken of the unpopular nature of my creed, was, perhaps, nothing more than what I might have anticipated; yet I cannot get rid of the astonishment which I at first felt on seeing that Mr. George Hibbert was the “*Enquirer*” who stepped forward to invalidate my testimony, by an attempt to lower me in public estimation.

THOMAS COOPER.

187, *High Holborn*, 14th April, 1824.

DOCUMENT

FROM THE JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE;

WITH REMARKS.

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.*

(1.) WE pledged ourselves, *some few weeks* since, to place before the public, in his proper colours, the celebrated Mr. Cooper, the reverend and respectable divine upon whose testimony the inhabitants of this island have been again stigmatized; and we consider this the proper time for redeeming our pledge, a pamphlet having made its appearance, said to have been written by him, † and which is commented on largely in the *Edinburgh Review* of February.

REMARKS.

(1.) The pamphlet alluded to in the opposite column, can be no other than that which is published by the London Anti-Slavery Society, entitled "*Negro Slavery*," and of which, it is well known, I am not the author. The article, indeed, which it contains, headed the "*Evidence of the Rev. Thomas Cooper*," I authorized the Editor to publish; and I have ever considered myself as responsible for the statements which are there brought forward. I gave my name, in the

* The daring and atrocious libel which I now submit to the tribunal of a candid and impartial public, appeared, I have reason to believe, in the first instance, in the *Montego-Bay Gazette*. The only copy of it, however, which I have seen, is that which I here employ, and which the Editor of the *Jamaica Royal Gazette* inserted in his paper of July 26, 1823. About the same time the same falsehoods also found a place in the columns of the *Jamaica Courant*.

† It is here insinuated, that it was the intention of the Journalist, before the appearance of the pamphlet to which he alludes, to animadvert on my character. He says, that his pledge "*to place me before the public*," was made "*some few weeks since*:" but he wrote this in July 1823; and, had his resolution been taken to hold me and my wife up to public odium *before* that work was published, he must have characterized his intentions as being *some months*, and not "*some few weeks*," old. My first letter in the *Monthly Repository*,

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.

We shall first state what we know of Mr. Cooper, and then say a few words on the acknowledged principles which govern the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in his animadversions or commendations on any question.

REMARKS.

first instance, for the sole purpose of affording to all parties the fullest opportunity of investigating the representations which, as a friend to the improvement of the Slaves, I felt it a duty to send forth to the world, of their condition. I disclaim the idea of ever having indulged towards the planters, merely as such, the slightest feelings of hostility. It is their *system* with which I quarrel, and to effect the gradual destruction of which, I have willingly lent my humble aid.

I am charged with having stigmatized "the inhabitants of Jamaica." Is it meant that I have gone beyond the truth in what I have said respecting the morals of these people? If it is, I distinctly deny the allegation; and I can assure the reader, that I have reviewed my statements on this head, again and again, but without being able to discern the least ground for retracting a single iota from them. In speaking of the immoral influence of Slavery, I see no reason why we should not expose its effects

on the Slave question, is dated March 27, 1822, and the pamphlet came out in November of the same year. Now, it is evident, from all the circumstances of the case, that the letters in the *Repository*, and my Evidence in *Negro Slavery*, gave rise to his attack, and not that the appearance of the pamphlet merely suggested to him the redemption of a pledge which he had previously given.

on the Whites, as well as on the Blacks. Mr. Stewart, in his book, published last year, respecting Jamaica, has not scrupled to do this (see Chap. xi.) ; and, before him, Dr. J. Williamson committed the same sin, as may be seen, in quotations made from him, in pp. 56—59 of "*Negro Slavery*." To stigmatize a people, consists, if I understand correctly, in casting upon them unmerited censure. But this I have not done. I have acted a faithful part, and most deeply lament that it was not in my power to draw a more agreeable picture of the state of society in the finest of our West-India colonies.

(2.) Mr. Cooper, a Unitarian clergyman, was sent out by Mr. Robert Hibbert, in 1817, to his estate, Georgia, in the parish of Hanover, for what purpose we are at a loss to conjecture—certainly not to propagate the gospel, nor to instil into the Negroes the principles of the Christian religion.* A house that had been the residence of the former proprietors of the estate,

(2.) The purpose, and the only purpose, for which I went out to Jamaica, was to ascertain the practicability of improving the condition of Mr. Hibbert's Negroes by means of religious instruction, without, however, entering on any plans inconsistent with the order and management of the estate, or rendering the Negroes discontented in their situation as slaves.—The house

* This is the first time that ever I heard the purity of Mr. Hibbert's intentions, with respect to my mission, questioned.

was appropriated to his use : it was decently furnished, and five or six Negroes, male and female, formed the establishment of domestics. A considerable salary was attached to the situation, and he was supplied from the estate with all the necessaries of life, and some of the luxuries.

(3.) Upon his arrival in the country, every facility was afforded him, in the pursuit of his mission, by those to whom it appertained to do so ; and the Negroes of the estate, or a very considerable number of them, attended his first and second, and some of them his third lectures.* But his doctrine was new to them. Many of them had attended the Established Church, within a few miles of the estate ; others had heard some of the Missionaries who had from time to time made their appearance in the country. By them they had been taught to believe in Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of man : by Mr. Cooper they were told, that Jesus

and furniture answered my purpose, but there certainly was nothing about either to boast of. My income was equal to my expenditure, and, if we take into the account several presents which I received from Mr. Hibbert, rather above it, yet not sufficiently so to make it a matter of importance to the public.

(3.) Upon my arrival in the country, the Negroes were informed, that my object in settling among them was to teach them religion, and that they were at liberty to form themselves into a religious society under my direction. They expressed a willingness to become my hearers, and did attend, in considerable numbers, my first two or three Sunday lectures, but afterwards fell off. This, however, was not in consequence of any objection which they, or any one else, had to my doctrine. Every word which my adversary says on this head, is utterly false ; not to mention the ridiculous and extravagant idea of the Georgia, or any other gang, being able to take part in

* The lectures here alluded to, were delivered on a Sunday, and must be carefully distinguished from those mentioned a little further on, which were given in the week-time, a half-a-day being allowed for the purpose.

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.

Christ was a very good man, and a good preacher; but that he was not the Son of God, or our Saviour!! The Negroes, never having before heard such a doctrine, naturally inquired, "What sort of a parson is this our master has sent us out? He does not tell us what the other parsons have done, and he can neither christen nor bury us." They therefore ceased to attend his lectures; and their disinclination to do so, which arose from the nature of his doctrines, he has in his pamphlet falsely attributed to time not being allowed them. Anxious, no doubt, to make proselytes, and finding that the Negroes would not voluntarily go to listen to him, he applied to the overseer to oblige them, and to flog them if they would not. This the overseer positively declined doing. So far, then, as to the failure of Mr. Cooper's mission.

REMARKS.

disputes about doctrines. He must know that I might have preached Unitarianism in the morning, Church-of-Englandism at noon, and Methodism at night, without any chance of being detected by them. But the fact is, I did not, on any occasion, during the whole of my residence in Jamaica, preach on controversial divinity. My plan was, to insist on those great points which Christians universally regard as being at the foundation of all true religion; and, until I read the libellous production in question, I never heard of the smallest objection being felt, either by Blacks or Whites, to my pursuing such a course.

Some few of Mr. Hibbert's slaves might attend the Church three or four times in the course of the year, but certainly not oftener; and none of them, as far as I could ascertain, ever reaped the least advantage from this practice. They were too ignorant to understand the service, and were, therefore, nothing more than mere spectators. A few others were said to have been, while they belonged to a former master, hearers of some of the Methodist Missionaries; but I cannot believe that they were ever

REMARKS.

very regular in their attendance upon their teachers, or paid much regard to what was said; for, on examining them, I found them quite as destitute of religious knowledge as the rest. I say this, not out of any disrespect to the Missionaries, but merely to shew that the case alluded to does not contain any thing calculated to serve the purpose of the slanderer in the Jamaica Royal Gazette.

With the doctrines taught by the Missionaries, I have nothing to do; but I must declare, in the most direct manner, that the writer in the preceding column has added another to his list of falsehoods and wilful misrepresentations, by stating that I taught the Negroes "*that Jesus Christ was not the Son of God, or our Saviour,*" because the contrary of this I uniformly preached to them, as I shall make it appear before I conclude.* The inquiries said to have been circulated by the slaves on this head, I never heard of while amongst them, and am certain they were never made.

It is true that I did not, for I could not conscientiously,

REMARKS.

christen the Negroes, though I was applied to by the overseer and some of the Negroes to perform the ceremony. The Scriptures are my guide in all matters of religion, and from them I learn, that men should repent, and be sufficiently instructed to form a rational belief in Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, before they are admitted to receive baptism. Now, I did not perceive any evidence that the Georgia Negroes were thus far advanced in Christian knowledge, or that they had any disposition to break off their sins and lead new lives. Indeed, I well knew that this was not the case; I knew that they were all extremely ignorant of God, of Christ, and, of course, of Christianity; and that they were the slaves of sin, in some of its most odious forms. Their wish to receive baptism, was of the most idle and unsatisfactory nature. It arose from the mere circumstance of the slaves on some other estates having been christened, and the fact of our own White people having encouraged them, even in their unprepared state, thus to rush

* See my last letter in the Correspondence with Mr. G. Hibbert, pp. 37, 38.

REMARKS.

into the Church of Christ. No attention whatever was paid to the reason and fitness of the measure—and the whole might justly be termed a piece of daring hypocrisy. Knowing all this, what course was left for me, as an honest man, to pursue, but to refuse to be a partner in such a scene of deception? The rector of the parish, however, having no scruples of the kind, baptized these crude disciples, and pronounced them “*regenerate*.”

What is said about my not being able to bury the Negroes, is entirely false; for I buried many—alas! too many—while I was on Mr. Hibbert’s estate. I repeatedly offered to bury even the heathen amongst them, but was not permitted, the friends of the deceased deeming it improper to employ a Christian service over the remains of persons who adhered during their whole life to their African opinions and practices. But I was always sent for in the cases of those who had been baptized.

The assertion, so boldly made by the Journalist, that the slaves withdrew from my

REMARKS.

instructions on the score of my doctrine not being sound, has been already attended to; and I must here maintain, as fully as I have ever done, that, had their inclinations been ever so good, they had not time to attend me.* Let any candid person of a different opinion reflect on the circumstance, that these poor creatures are compelled to procure, by their own exertions, nearly the whole of the common necessities of life, after their masters’ work is done. He demands their time from day-light in the morning till dark at night, with the exception of proper intervals for meals, the Sunday, and twenty-six or twenty-eight days in the year, which they are allowed for the cultivation of their provision-grounds. In crop, which lasts half the year, they are employed at the sugar-manufactory three nights out of the seven, without any additional rest in the day. The quantity of food which they receive from the estate, consists of no more than seven or eight herrings per week. The rest they have to make up in what is termed

* On this subject, I have recently spoken pretty much at large in a pamphlet entitled “*Facts illustrative of the Condition of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica.*”

REMARKS.

their own time, besides making and mending their clothes, and discharging every household and other duty which respects themselves. Now, if they manage to get through their secular concerns with any due propriety, it is pretty plain, that they will not have much time left for religion.

My being anxious to make proselytes, will not, I shall take for granted, be imputed to me as a crime; while my conduct would have been execrable, in the highest degree, had I applied to the overseer* to flog the Negroes, if they would not attend me without. Here a simple statement of facts is necessary. When it was determined that I should have an opportunity of preaching to the slaves in the week-time, I was applied to, both by the overseer and the attorney, to know in what manner I expected to make myself sure of my audience, and whether I wished to have the people flogged if they failed to come to me of their own accord. My

REMARKS.

answer was prompt—that I would never consent to any such measures, believing them to be most inconsistent with the nature of the object I had in view; and, that I thought some other plan might be adopted. This being the case, it was agreed that corporal punishment should *not* be employed, but that the overseer should cause the gangs to be informed, when the time for preaching arrived, that they were at liberty either to attend, or to remain in the field at work. Thus the business was made a matter of free choice on the part of the slaves; and on no occasion was force of any kind resorted to, nor should I have given it my countenance had it been attempted. Indeed, the whip was unnecessary in this case, for the people cheerfully complied with the terms proposed. There were no dissenting voices, though a few individuals occasionally absented themselves from the lecture, and applied the time to a purpose for which it was not

* The name of the person here referred to, is Adam Arkinstall, who is, I believe, now residing as overseer on an estate, called John's Hall, in the parish of St. James. He lived many years on Georgia, and knows me well; and I cannot believe, unless I have it from his own mouth, that he sanctioned any of the false and atrocious statements in the above scandalous production, which it is my painful lot to examine.

(4.) We now come to the private deportment of this humane, moral, and highly respectable clergyman and his wife. We have often had occasion to notice that persons recently arrived from the mother country, are less patient with, and less inclined to make allowances for, the errors of Negroes, than those who have been long with them. Such was the case with Mr. and Mrs. Cooper. For every trifling fault that the domestics committed, they were sent to the overseer to be punished:

given: but even these were allowed, in every instance, to escape with no other punishment than a remonstrance from me.

(4.) What degree of patience we had with the slaves who were placed under our more immediate care will soon appear. True it is that our Jamaica servants gave us an enormous deal of uneasiness. At times, they went through the duties of their station with sufficient propriety; at others, they neglected every thing and rendered our house one of the most comfortless abodes in the neighbourhood. But notwithstanding all this, only one* instance occurred of either of them being sent down to the overseer for punishment. The

* In one of my letters in the *Monthly Repository*,* I promised to furnish the public with an account of a flogging which John Harden, my own waiting boy, received at my request: and I now proceed to redeem my pledge.

This boy was put into my service the day I arrived in the island; and at first he gave me every satisfaction. His work was light, and I may safely say that his situation was not more laborious than that of the majority of gentlemen's servants in this country. I taught him to read, and did every thing in my power to make him comfortable, not doubting that mild treatment would secure, for any length of time, his useful services. But I was completely mistaken; for, after the first six months, he began to relax in his duty, and to indicate an indifference to please me. I reasoned with him upon the impropriety of his conduct, and he promised to amend. For a short time he was as good as his word, and then became worse than ever. Again and again I called him to account, hoping that I might by remonstrance restore him to his former state of obedience. I spoke to my neighbours upon the subject, and also to

* See Mon. Repos. Vol. XVIII. p. 232.

for he at first, supposing it was impossible that Mr. and Mrs. Cooper would send a Negro to be punished without sufficient grounds, complied with the request; but it at length became so frequent that he sent the Negroes back without correction.

(5.) Upon one occasion, in particular, a bottle of brandy was missing, and not being

representation, therefore, on the other side is directly and completely false.

(5.) It is true that upon one occasion a bottle of brandy was lost, but utterly false that

the attorney and overseer for the estate, all of whom seemed to agree, that my measures were not sufficiently decisive, and some of them repeatedly recommended me to try the whip. This I was extremely reluctant to do, notwithstanding I saw that the other servants, as well as John, were determined to have their own way, and take every possible advantage of us. At last things got to so bad a state that I saw the necessity of effecting some alteration. The silver spoons after every meal were thrown down in the yard, instead of being put into their places, and the greatest confusion prevailed through the establishment. Things were wasted, and want was sometimes felt where there ought to have been plenty. Even the horses came in for an ample share of neglect; and in a word, nothing received its proper attention. To dwell in this state, was impossible; especially as it affected the daily comfort and happiness of my wife. Threatening had been so often tried, that it was found to be productive of mischief rather than good. On one or two occasions, I took a stick and tried whether a few stripes from that would not have a beneficial influence on this lad, and put the other servants somewhat on their guard. I was, however, deceived, for no one paid any serious regard to this, and we began to despair. Many times I saw Mrs. C. insulted, and did myself put up with language from the domestics, which I should not think of submitting to in this country, no, not for an hour. In this state, things remained till March 13, 1820, that is, rather more than two years and a quarter after we took up our abode on Mr. Hibbert's estate. On the morning of this day, John was so extremely outrageous, that I felt myself under the necessity of putting him into the overseer's hands, intending that he should confine him for a few hours, and then give him ten or twelve lashes. He, however, made both feet fast in the stocks, and kept him in that situation from about one o'clock in the day till the next morning, when he took the poor boy out and gave him a terrible whipping. I was not present on the occasion, and was never able to ascertain what number of stripes he received. The overseer went far, very far beyond my directions, and John was, in consequence, sadly overpunished. This I always maintained

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.

REMARKS.

able to fix the robbery on any particular Negro, Mr. Cooper, with equal justice and humanity, sent the whole household establishment, men and women, down to undergo chastisement. Of this crime they were afterwards proved innocent; for, the overseer refusing to carry Mr. Cooper's wishes into execution, an investigation took place, in the course of which it came out that Mrs. Cooper had the inestimable prize safe in her own custody, intending it for her own particular use.—So much for their justice and humanity.

(6.) Mr. Cooper says, it is not surprising that the Negroes steal sugar, for the planters will not sell any in the country—and, that he was obliged to send to Mr. Hibbert for a barrel. “The fact was, that as much sugar had

upon the estate, as Mr. Oates, the attorney, well knows. After this, John conducted himself rather better for a short time, but again became refractory. I again remonstrated with him, but to so little effect, that I was obliged to change him. He was sent into the field to work with the gang, in which situation he remained when I left the island.

Such, then, is the history of the flagellation of the *only* slave who was punished by my orders; and could I have told to what lengths the overseer would have gone, even this lad, notwithstanding all the trouble he gave me for more than two years, would not have received a stripe. The affair, at the time, gave me the greatest uneasiness; and, in consequence of the conduct of the overseer, I should not have been able to resort to him again for assistance, in bringing the idle and disobedient to a sense of their duty, had we remained for years longer on the estate.

any person whatever suffered for the crime. So far from this, it never gave rise to an unpleasant word, look, or feeling; though it might make us somewhat more careful, with respect to such things afterwards. Whether “this inestimable prize” was or was not found again I cannot now pretend to say: but I am certain that no particular investigation took place; and as to the atrocious insinuation against Mrs. Cooper, I shall only say, that it is of a piece with the rest of the horrid falsehoods, here put forth in so daring a manner.

(6.) I repeat that “it is not surprising that the Negroes steal sugar,” and that, in the parish where we lived, and I believe, from what I heard on the spot, in all others, the planters, as a general rule, refused to sell any to their

been sent to Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, as would have been sufficient for the annual consumption of all the rest of the White people on the estate." Being called upon for a further supply, the overseer refused it, and, on inquiry, found, that Mrs. Cooper (we suppose to prevent the unhappy Negroes from stealing) had actually been selling Mr. Hibbert's sugar to his own Negroes.—So much for their honesty!

neighbours. Calabash market* is the place where the great mass of the free inhabitants go to buy their sugar of the Negroes, though they know at the time that all which they expose there, or any where else, for sale, is stolen. On my return to this country I mentioned this circumstance to Mr. Hibbert, who expressed strong disapprobation of such dangerous folly,—and added, that he should have no objection to his attorney letting any person in the island have sugar, who might be disposed to pay a fair price for it.

The overseer never allowed us more sugar than we really wanted; and as to the charge of extravagance, I never heard it even so much as hinted at till now, and it is moreover quite without foundation.

Mrs. Cooper kept a small boarding-school, during a part of our residence in Jamaica, and the barrel of sugar which we were obliged to threaten to send for to England, was intended for the use of the scholars. Our first endeavour was, to obtain it from some neighbouring planter, but not being successful, we were told

* So called from the circumstance of the Negroes taking the sugar to market in calabashes.

that we might meet with a cheap bargain, at calabash market. Of this advantage, however, we positively refused to avail ourselves, and persisted in our determination to send home for a supply, which at length induced Mr. Oates,* Mr. Hibbert's attorney, to order the overseer to let us have what we wanted. Soon after this, a cask was sent from the estate, containing 300 pounds, for which I paid £10. 10s. currency. But Mrs. C. soon gave up her school, and having at the time a considerable part of the sugar left, she gave it to the servants; whereas her atrocious libeller declares "that she had actually been selling Mr. Hibbert's sugar to his own Negroes."

(7.) Another instance of this virtue in Mr. Cooper.—Upon his arrival in the country, at the recommendation of some of the inhabitants of Hanover, he made up his mind to open a school, and for the furtherance of that purpose, he requested a respectable merchant at Lucea, to import certain books for him, of which

(7.) We sent to London for the school-books we wanted for our scholars, and never entertained the least idea of procuring them through any one in Jamaica. The only books which I ever ordered in that island, were a dozen or eighteen numbers of the Monthly Repository, which I took and paid for on their arrival.

* This gentleman was not of the number of those who advised us to go to calabash market, and his scruples about accommodating us arose from a fear lest he should be thought, by such a proceeding, to transgress the line of his instructions.

he furnished the list. On the arrival of the books in the country, Mr. Cooper had changed his mind, and declined taking them—most of which are still remaining with the gentleman who imported them.

Several merchants requested me, as a favour, to furnish them with lists of the best school-books, they being desirous of importing them, amongst other things, for sale. Now this, with the assistance of Mrs. C., I very cheerfully did; but it is utterly false, that the books were imported for me, or in any way to oblige me. (See S. M. Solomon's letter, at the end of this article.)

(8.) We now come to that part of their conduct and character that we would not insert, had we not the best authority for doing so. Alas! unhappy Jamaica, that the demoralizing effects of your climate, and the contagion of evil example, should not have failed to corrupt such double-fortified consciences as those of Mr. and Mrs. Cooper! We can, however, state with certainty, that while speaking of the continence, virtue, and sobriety, of the people of Jamaica, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper might have found room for amendment in themselves in these particulars. It was said, that the White carpenter on the estate was not an unwelcome visitor at

(8.) It is here pretended, by my traducer, that he has the best authority for what he advances respecting my character, and yet he does nothing more than deal in vague generalities. He fails to produce the *names* of the persons on whose testimony he relies; and I dare him to confront any individual with me, capable of giving the least countenance to his assertions. I am ashamed of nothing which I or my wife did in Jamaica; and we should hail an opportunity of meeting in a court of justice, in this country, any person, or persons, with whom we were acquainted in Jamaica, who may feel the least disposition to maintain the charges of immo-

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.

the pen-house — whether to Mr. or Mrs. Cooper, has not been stated. But it was notorious, that the secreted bottle of brandy was seized by Mrs. Cooper as her share of a gallon which had been received only a few days before.

REMARKS.

rality, &c., preferred against us in the other column.

The White carpenter did occasionally come to our house on a Sunday, and I believe he once or twice dined with us. We regarded him as being rather superior to the majority of carpenters whom we had seen in Jamaica. His name was Thomas Richardson, and I have some reason to believe he is now in this country. He was a married man, and had been in business for himself at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in which town his wife and children resided during the period we knew him in Jamaica. We took a pleasure in shewing him a few civilities, out of compassion for what we could not but deem his hard fate, in being so completely banished from his family, to witness the odious scenes, and put up with the inconveniences of a residence on a sugar estate.—The brutal insinuation against Mrs. Cooper for our thus noticing this individual, is on a par with the tale about the bottle of brandy.

(9.) And the day previous to Mr. Cooper's departure from the island, on a Sunday, in the presence of thirty or forty re-

(9.) The Sunday before I left the island, I preached a farewell sermon in the overseer's house; about twenty-

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.

spectable persons, who had met to hear his farewell sermon, and who dined together with him at the overseer's house, he got so brutally intoxicated, as to be obliged to be carried from the table and put to bed.

REMARKS.

five persons were present : after the service we all dined together, and about five or six o'clock in the evening I returned home, and what is said about my being put to bed, &c. &c., is entirely and maliciously false. I must, however, add, that Mrs. C. and myself were informed, the morning after, that certain individuals of the party whom I left at the table, remained all night, and gave way to much excess before they went to bed.

(10.) Mr. Cooper has said, that he does not recollect to have seen a "single White man in Jamaica, who shewed any serious concern about religion, except some Missionaries."— It has come to our knowledge that this is a wilful and malicious falsehood. Mr. Cooper came to this parish, and visited an estate where service is regularly performed on Sunday, and where the children are instructed in the catechism of the Church of England. We know that Mr. Cooper expressed, to the attorney of that estate, his unqualified admiration at what he saw, and his astonishment at the correctness with which the children went through the catechism.

(10.) I repeat all that I have ever published, or sanctioned, respecting the moral and religious conduct of the inhabitants of Jamaica. I visited Flamstead estate in St. James's, (the property of Mr. Vaughan,) some time before I returned to this country, to which visit allusion is here made. The service on this estate is performed by a Baptist Minister, a native of America, but a mulatto. He is, I believe, a worthy man ; and I can assure the reader, that he has no very high idea, any more than myself, of the moral and religious character of the Whites in Jamaica. Will it be said that this gentleman, who is a Brown man and a

REMARKS.

Christian Minister, forms an exception to my offensive rule? Unless this is done, how will my statement be made to appear as a "wilful and malicious falsehood?"

The assertion is perfectly false that I expressed to the attorney of Flamstead "my unqualified admiration," at what I saw of the religious instruction of the slaves on that estate, or of the "correctness with which the children went through the catechism."

(11.) We know, that at a gentleman's table in this town, where he broached his Unitarian doctrine, he was shewn that there was a serious concern about religion, by the reception his own peculiar tenets met with.

(11.) The town alluded to in the opposite paragraph is Montego-Bay, and the gentleman's table that of Mr. Vaughan. The conversation which was there carried on, was upon the subject of religious liberty and not upon points of doctrine. One of the editors of the Montego-Bay Gazette was present, and took a prominent part in what passed. Unitarianism was not, I believe, even alluded to; and what I contended for was, the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. The Catholics were mentioned, and I maintained that they were fully entitled to their claims. This, it seems, was too much for

REMARKS.

(12.) A friend of ours, who has had many religious controversies with Mr. Cooper, states, that his ideas of religion are upon a par with those of Tom Paine; that he has as much faith in Christianity as a Jew Rabbi; and that his principles are too dangerous to be broached even in private company, much less in a public assembly of Negroes and ignorant people.

(13.) Such, then, is the man upon whose testimony the characters of the inhabitants of Jamaica have been vilified by the editor of the Edinburgh Review; but it is quite sufficient, without knowing any thing of the fact himself; for the Editor of this Review, according to his own acknowledgment, received his information from a person whom he chooses to suppose "had the best means of knowing how the fact actually stood, and upon whose accuracy and honour he had, and still has, the most implicit reliance."* Mr. Cooper, we presume, must

the company; which indeed, I might have known at the time, had I sufficiently reflected on the circumstance that it consisted of slave-holders.

(12.) The friend of the editor of the Montego-Bay Gazette, here referred to, is, I suppose, Mr. S. M. Solomon, the faithfulness of whose account of my religious belief, or of his intimacy with me, will be explained immediately. (See Mr. Solomon's letter.)

(13.) The public must judge whether my testimony ought to be set aside by the attacks which have been made on my private character. The work referred to, at the close of this outrageous article, is "*Negro Slavery*"; a work, which has been assailed, both in this country and in Jamaica, in the most violent and abusive manner, but which has never been fairly answered. The statements it contains remain unretracted, and there is no objection to the facts undergoing the severest scrutiny of the candid and impartial. The only speculative end which I had in view in the

* See note in Edinburgh Review, Number lvii. p. 268.

JAMAICA ROYAL GAZETTE.

be this person; and we do say, to make use of his own words, that he has published "inferences, uncharitably drawn," from a work replete with falsehood and malignity, and published, not for the benefit of society at large, but to answer the speculative ends of Mr. Cooper and certain merchants in Liverpool, who, a very few years since, were the principal owners of ships engaged in the Slave-trade.

REMARKS.

part I have acted in this business, was the grateful hope of being able to do a little good in the cause of justice and humanity.

I insert the following document, being persuaded that it came from the same source as the preceding, and which it will greatly assist the reader in explaining. The writer asserts, that I have "dared to impose on the public, in giving false and scandalous reports concerning the treatment of slaves in Jamaica." The public will judge whether he has proved them to be so. He gives a sweeping statement, but does not quote, much less refute, a single fact which I have brought forward.

Duplicate, original per Dr. Butler, sailed in the Princess Charlotte, Capt. Payne, for Bristol.

SIR, Montego-Bay, Jamaica, 1st August, 1823.

I find in the *Edinburgh Review*, as well as in the Reports of the House of Commons, that the Rev. Mr. Cooper (lately residing in this island) has dared to impose on the public, in giving false and scandalous reports concerning the treatment of slaves in Jamaica. I have no doubt but the like imposition has been practised on your relatives. In order, therefore, to convince you and them how little Mr. Cooper's testimony is to be depended on, I take the liberty to hand

you parts of two journals : they will exhibit that *reverend gentleman* in his true colours. After reading them, should you have any doubts of the assertions therein contained, when you have read the annexed copy of transactions between him and his late factor, all doubts as to the character and conduct of that *divine* must be set at rest for ever.

I also beg to notice, for your guidance, that the school-books, slates, &c. &c., were sent out to Mr. Cooper for the purpose of being used in a school which he had instructions to establish on Mr. Hibbert's estate, (Georgia, in Hanover,) for the purpose of teaching the slaves to read and write. You will see what use was made of those articles ; in fact, they were disposed of for gin, brandy, &c. &c.*

I know this Mr. Cooper well ; † and he will recollect our having dined together at Alexander Campbell's, Esq., Lucea, not long before Mr. Cooper departed from the island. We had then a long disputation on religious matters ; and I can with safety assert, that Mr. Cooper has no more faith in

* See Mr. Eaton's bill, p. 64.

† This is not true. Mr. Solomon cannot make any just pretensions to knowing me well. I never saw him above three times in my life :—once as he walked, at some distance from me, in the streets of Lucea ; once in a merchant's store of that town, where we exchanged about five words ; and once at Mr. Cambell's, where, by mere accident, we met and dined together. After the cloth was drawn, we had a short and very friendly conversation on the Unity of the Deity, but nothing further passed of a religious nature. Mr. S. declares himself to be an Israelite, and asserts, that I have “no more faith in Christianity” than he has. This very much resembles a passage in the libel we have been just examining. The writer there remarks, “A friend of ours, who has had many religious controversies with Mr. Cooper, states, that his ideas of religion are upon a par with those of Tom Paine ; that he has as much faith in Christianity as a Jew Rabbi,” &c. &c. This friend of the Jamaica journalist, is, doubtless, Mr. Solomon, with whom I had, as just explained, nothing more than one short religious conversation. It is a gross calumny to state, that I “have no faith in Christianity,” because I gratefully receive the Gospel as a divine revelation. (See my concluding letter to Mr. Hibbert.)

Christianity than the person who has now the honour of addressing you, and who is an Israelite.

I have resided in this island nearly six years: during that time I have travelled much; and I will venture to assert, without fear of being contradicted by any impartial man, that the slaves in this island are much better fed and clothed than the workmen in our country, and the treatment is much more mild than what is experienced by the miners, colliers, and other labourers in the neighbourhood of our nativity. The slaves of this island have also much more enjoyment than the manufacturers, when even they have their pint of ale and a pipe in a public-house.

I confess, when I first arrived in this island, I was, like many others, much averse to slavery, and it must be allowed to have a bad sound in the ears of John Bull; but after visiting several estates, as well as noticing the treatment of domestic slaves, I was very soon convinced that the slaves are much better off than the poor of Great Britain. Allow me to request the favour of your exhibiting the parts of the journals, as well as my letter, to your brother-in-law, Mr. Wilberforce; to your relative, my Lord Calthorpe; to my Lord Teignmouth (who is, I believe, President of the African Society); also to the Right Honourable Dennis Brown, to whom I have the honour of being personally known. I shall feel happy to afford you any information as regards the slaves and the island generally; but I must beg to be understood, that I shall be guided by the strictest impartiality, and I shall not take a leaf out of Mr. Cooper's book.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,

SAUL M. SOLOMON,

(Late of Great Charles Street, Birmingham, and Gloucester Place, London).

To Richard Spooner, Esq.*

* Of the house of Spooner, Attwoods, and Co. (T. C.)

(COPY.)

10th August, 1820.

Received of the Rev. Thomas Cooper, 20 Geographies; 10 Histories of England; 11 English Grammars; 8 Introduction Books to English Reading; 6 Spelling Books; 17 Tables; 300 Quills; 8 Slates; 12 small Books; 18 Dr. Watts's Hymns; 12 Instruction Books; 45 Barbauld's Hymns; 16 English Exercises; 10 Grammars; 9 quires Writing Paper; 40 Slate Pencils; amounting to 20*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.* currency.

(Signed) THOMAS L. KEARN.

Rev. Thomas Cooper in Account with Thomas L. Kearn.

DR.		CR.	
1820.	£. s. d.	1820.	£. s. d.
Aug. 21. 2 bottles Brandy . .	1 0 0	By amount of Invoice of	
Nov. 13. 2 ditto ditto . .	1 0 0	Books, &c. &c. . .	20 11 2 <i>½</i>
3 ditto each, Gin and Brandy . .	3 0 9		
4 Pine Cheeses . .	3 6 8		
1 bottle Gin . . .	0 10 0		
Sundries for House use	8 17 11		
Cash for Balance .	2 16 7 <i>½</i>		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£20 11 2 <i>½</i>		£20 11 2 <i>½</i>

Errors excepted,
Montego-Bay, 18th March, 1821,
(Signed) THOMAS COOPER.*

* I have no remembrance of signing the above account, the greater part of which I regard as a forgery. I had some spirits of T. L. Kearn, but, I believe, not all that he has here put down; though, even if I had, I see not what it would prove to my discredit. T. L. Kearn is a tradesman without honour: he is now about three guineas in my debt. I have no memorandum of the exact sum; but I may record the fact, that he never paid me the balance.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Cooper to Mr. Thomas L. Kearn, Lucea.

DEAR SIR,

I conclude from your note, that you have received by John, the 8 slates, 40 pencils, 300 quills, &c., which I sent to you by him a few days ago. Be so good as to let him have the two bottles of brandy you mentioned to me the last time I was at the Bay, and a tin pan of the exact size and shape of the paper he will give you. Should there be a packet, you will oblige me by sending me word of it by John, and directing him to call at the post office for my letters. The Sunday-School First Book cost 6d., the Practical Instructor, 4d., the pencils a farthing each, and the paper 15d. per quire. The prices are, of course, sterling.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) THOMAS COOPER.

Tom Spring, 21st August, 1820.

The books, &c. which Mr. Kearn sold for me, were my own property, and not Mr. Hibbert's, as Mr. Solomon falsely represents. They were sent out to Jamaica for me, by Mr. Eaton, of 187, High Holborn, London, as the following invoice will sufficiently prove. Those goods for which Mr. Frend paid on account of Mr. Hibbert, and which had not been used by the Slaves, were left on the Estate with Mr. Oates, the attorney, on my quitting Jamaica.

October 24, 1820.

THE REV. MR. COOPER, NEAR LUCEA, JAMAICA,

To D. EATON, 187, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON.

	s. d.	£. s. d.
Murray's Grammar	12 copies, at 4 0	2 8 0
Smaller ditto	12 ditto, at 1 0	0 12 0
Spelling Book	12 ditto, at 1 6	0 18 0
Introduction	12 ditto, at 3 0	1 16 0
Exercises	12 ditto, at 2 6	1 10 0
Goldsmith's Geography	12 ditto, at 3 6	2 2 0
Larger ditto	1 ditto	0 15 0
Hist. of England ..	12 ditto, at 3 6	2 2 0
Barbauld's Hymns	50 ditto, at 0 6	1 5 0
Watts's Hymns.....	37 ditto, at 0 6	0 18 6
Scholar's First Book	25 ditto, at 0 6	0 12 6
Practical Instructor.....	25 ditto, at 0 4	0 8 4
Monthly Repository	12 Nos. at 1 6	0 18 0
Common Slates	24at 0 6	0 12 0
Quills	500at 4 0	1 0 0
Ink Powders	12at 0 6	0 6 0
Watch, Chain, Rings, and Keys	4 10 0
Packing-case, Porterage, &c.	0 16 6
	23 9 4	
Discount on Books, &c.	1 14 4	
	£21 15 0	

" April 15th, 1824.—I certify the above to be my bill to Mr. COOPER for the said goods sold and delivered. DAVID EATON."

*Goods for which Mr. Frend pays:**

Lancasterian Lessons	2 9 6
1 Dozen Writing Books	0 8 0
2 Boyer's Arithmetic	0 4 0
2 Rules, &c.	0 2 0
1 Manual	0 6 0
200 Slate Pencils and Lord's Prayer	0 1 8
7 Dozen Slates, ruled.....	1 10 6
200 Pens	0 5 0
15 Quires Writing Paper	0 15 0
12 Bibles	at 5s. 6d.
36 New Testaments	at 2s. 6d.
Gifford	0 3 0
	£14 0 8

* That is, he paid for them on behalf of Mr. Hibbert. T. C.

CONCLUSION.

I FEEL that I owe the public some apology for venturing to lay before them the above outrageous, abominable, and indecent attempt to blast my reputation, and that of Mrs. Cooper, in the estimation of every moral and upright mind: and had the Jamaica libellers strictly confined the circulation of their diabolical attack within the precincts of their own island, I most certainly should never have deigned to notice it in the manner in which I have done. But their Journals are sent over to this country, and put into the hands of individuals eager to catch at any charge, however atrocious, preferred against those who, out of compassion to the sufferings of the Negroes, and a concern for the interests of morality and religion, have ventured openly to impugn the Slave System. My evidence in the pamphlet called "*Negro Slavery*," was no sooner given to the world, than a plan was actually set on foot for the annihilation of my testimony by the destruction of my character. This I was apprized of long ago. Inquiries were sent out to Jamaica, and no efforts appear to have been left untried which could be deemed in any way calculated to assist in realizing the unrighteous design. Fair controversy was out of the question; and men like Mr. Solomon and T. Kearn not only allowed to fabricate and lend a helping hand, but to act a prominent part, in this shameful transaction. Falsehoods the most direct, scandalous, and wilful, have been uttered, and put on record in the colonial prints. But personal abuse, in defiance of all truth and modesty, is characteristic of those who war on the side of oppression and vice.

I am conscious of being entirely innocent of every crime laid to my charge by my inveterate and merciless enemies. I do not quote the testimony of my wife, for obvious reasons ; but I challenge her daring traducers to come and repeat their calumnies to my face. Was it not enough that they aimed their poisoned arrows at me ? Must baseness and hatred suggest the temerity of abusing and maligning one, the purity of whose character is not to be sullied by the interested scribes of the planters ?

Mr. Hibbert may be displeased that I have spoken so freely about the condition of his slaves on Georgia ; but I appeal to him, to Mr. Frend, and to all that know me, whether there is, or can be, any truth in what Mr. Solomon, T. Kearn, and the Editors of the Jamaica newspapers, affirm ? In this I ask no favour ; I desire nothing but common justice ; and I am prepared to meet my accusers, face to face, in any court of justice in this country. Were I allowed to publish Mr. Hibbert's private letters to me, it would be seen that he has never expressed any feelings but those of respect for my character. His language on this head is as strong as I could wish ; and I may add, that I received several communications from him after my return to this country. I may seem to be sounding my own trumpet, but I hope I shall be excused by all who consider the peculiar nature of my circumstances. I know well the tender nature of the controversy in which I am engaged, and I always expected to meet with opposition ; but I certainly had no idea that the West Indians were capable of the part they have acted. I am not the only one they have attacked in this furious and brutal manner ; others might be mentioned who have received their full share of abuse. But out of evil comes good ; and, in the present case, we have a demonstration of the wretched and miserable shifts to which the defenders of Negro Slavery are driven. Would they abuse

their opponents, if they could answer them? Is not the line of conduct which they pursue, the necessary consequence of having a bad cause to defend? I have published their own account of me, from a certain knowledge of its falsehood and malignity; for the public at large are interested in this question. But what crying abuse, what cruelty, oppression, or injustice, will any one venture to expose, if he is to be run down with atrocious calumnies; if his moral worth and religious principles are only to furnish materials for outrageous attacks on domestic habits and conjugal fidelity,—and for the fabrication of all that is base and unmanly, with the sole view of destroying testimony which otherwise can neither be denied nor answered? I might have accompanied it by many more remarks than I have, but did not deem them necessary.

THE END.